



## The Influence of the Prestige of the Islamic Rule in the Iberian Peninsula on the Andalusian Poetry from 1031 to 1091

La influència del prestigi del domini islàmic a la Península Ibèrica en la poesia andalusa del 1031 al 1091

La influencia del prestigio del dominio islámico en la Península Ibérica en la poesía andaluza de 1031 a 1091

A influência do prestígio do domínio islâmico na Península Ibérica na poesia andaluza de 1031 a 1091

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**Abstract:** Before the end of the eleventh century, the Muslims in the West (*al-Gharb*) lost Toledo in the middle of the Iberian Peninsula in 477 AH/1085, and the Muslims in the Near East (*al-Mashriq*) lost Jerusalem (*al-Qudis*) in 492 AH/1099. This was due to the division of *al-Mashriq* into several states: besides the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate (132-655 AH/750-1258), there were other states, such as Saljūk state (428-590 AH/1037-1194) and Fāṭimīd state (296-567 AH/909-1171). This situation was like the political situation in the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus), which divided the region into twenty-two states in the first half of the eleventh century. Consequently, many scholars and historians have concentrated on the reaction of the Islamic political and military authorities to the fall of Toledo and Jerusalem. In addition, they have discussed the efforts of the intellectual elites in improving the above-mentioned political circumstances in the Near East and al-Andalus after the fall of these cities. However, they have not paid attention to the impact of the division of al-Andalus into twenty-two states and its internal consequences as well as their submission to the Iberian Catholic rule on the shape of the Andalusian poetry. Consequently, this research analyses the impact of these political events on the cultural activities of the Andalusian poets as well as the contents of their poems. It also compares the status of the Andalusian poets who wrote their poems against the Andalusian political authorities and those who created their poems to praise the Andalusian rulers. In addition, it illustrates the relations between the poets especially who were against the Muslim rulers in al-Andalus and the poets who had supported the Iberian

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Muslim rulers. The methodology of this study is the historical method which analyses various Andalusian sources to fill this gap.

**Keywords:** Poets – Jurists – *Al-Ṭawāʾif* – Unification – Christian Kingdoms.

**Resumen:** Antes del final del siglo XI, los musulmanes de Occidente (*al-Gharb*) perdieron Toledo en el medio de la Península Ibérica en 477 AH/1085, y los musulmanes de Oriente Próximo (*al-Mashriq*) perdieron Jerusalén (*al-Qudis*) en 492 AH/1099. Esto se debió a la división de *al-Mashriq* en varios estados: además del Califato ‘Abbāsīd (132-655 AH/750-1258), había otros estados, como el estado de Saljūk (428-590 AH/1037-1194) y Fāṭimīd estado (296-567 AH/909-1171). Esta era la situación política en la Península Ibérica (*al-Andalus*), que dividió la región en veintidós estados en la primera mitad del siglo XI. En consecuencia, muchos estudiosos e historiadores se han concentrado en la reacción de las autoridades políticas y militares islámicas ante la caída de Toledo y Jerusalén. Además, han discutido los esfuerzos de las élites intelectuales por mejorar las citadas circunstancias políticas en Oriente Próximo y *al-Andalus* tras la caída de estas ciudades. Sin embargo, no han prestado atención al impacto que tuvo la división de *al-Andalus* en veintidós estados y sus consecuencias internas, así como su sumisión al dominio católico ibérico, en la configuración de la poesía andaluza. En consecuencia, esta investigación analiza el impacto de estos acontecimientos políticos en la actividad cultural de los poetas andaluces, así como en los contenidos de sus poemas. También compara el estatus de los poetas andaluces que escribieron sus poemas contra las autoridades políticas andaluzas y los que crearon sus poemas para elogiar a los gobernantes andaluces. Además, ilustra las relaciones entre los poetas que estaban especialmente en contra de los gobernantes musulmanes de *al-Andalus* y los poetas que habían apoyado a los gobernantes musulmanes ibéricos. La metodología de este estudio es el método histórico que analiza diversas fuentes andaluzas para cubrir este vacío.

Palabras-clave: Poetas – Juristas – *Al-Ṭawāʾif* – Unificación – Reinos Cristianos.

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## Introduction

Andalusian poetry is that art that emerged from the Arab civilization in al-Andalus, and it was characterized by a set of characteristics that it acquired from the place of its emergence. The Andalusian poetry appeared in the Iberian Peninsula after the Umayyad conquest of the latter in 726. The poetry in al-Andalus was closely linked to political life. During this period, the Andalusians were resorting to the poetry of the Levant. However, the Andalusian poets, tried to write new purposes in their poetry, but their attempt failed and was considered an imitation of Levantine poetry. An example of this is the attempts of Abu al-Ajrab Ja'unah ibn al-Samah (d. unknown). He relied on the strength of pronunciation and the strength of phrase. Consequently, these poets, including Abu al-Ajrab Ja'unah ibn al-Samah neglected the artistic image and the main idea in their poetry.

After that, the second political stage in al-Andalus began with the arrival of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mu'āwīyah (756-788) who had entered al-Andalus, and he had established the Umayyad state there. Poetry flourished in this stage. During this period, many poets from different parts of the Iberian Peninsula were famous, particularly, Yaḥyā al-Ghazāl (d. 860) and Abū Bakir al-Zubaydī (d. 989).

During the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Andalus, the Andalusian poetry flourished, but it reached its peak with the era of *al-Ṭawā'if* from 1031 to 1091. During the era of *al-Ṭawā'if*, the poetry developed and grew clearly. In addition, the poetry of Andalusians became with full features that had expressed their personalities, literature, and culture. During this era, there were many topics dealt with by Andalusian poetry, such as praise, spinning, lamentation, asceticism, and other purposes. They expanded on these purposes, particularly, lamenting cities. Consequently, this research seeks to examine the impact of the political situation in the Iberian Peninsula on the cultural activities of the Andalusian poets and contents of their poetry during the era of *al-Ṭawā'if*. The Iberian Muslims lost some vital cities during this era.



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## I. A Brief Overview of Islamic Rule in the Iberian Peninsula

The presence of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula began in 711, when Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād (d.720), during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Al-Walīd bin ‘Abd al-Malik (705-715), launched a war against the Visigoths who ruled the Peninsula. Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād succeeded in ending the Visigoth rule of the Iberian Peninsula. Hence, except for some spots in the north, the Iberian Peninsula became a province of the Umayyad Caliphate in Damascus and was called ‘al-Andalus’. The situation remained that way until the fall of the Umayyad state at the hands of Banū al-‘Abbās in 750.

Banū al-‘Abbās pursued the princes of Banū Umayyah until many of them were killed, but some of them survived. Among the survivors was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mu‘āwīyah (756-788), who was called ‘Ṣāqir Quraysh’ or ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil. He managed to reach the Iberian Peninsula and establish an independent state, which was called the Umayyad state in al-Andalus and its capital the city of Cordoba. This state had been transferred to the Caliphate by the successors of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil in the first half of the tenth century. Al-Andalus remained one strong entity until the end of the tenth century.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Caliphate of Umayyad in the Iberian Peninsula entered in the civil war for the throne, which threatened the stability of the Caliphate. This internal conflict made the last Umayyad rulers so weak, and it gave the Andalusian provinces’ rulers the opportunity to separate from the Caliphate. Consequently, the third decade of the eleventh century witnessed the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate. Hence, al-Andalus was divided into many states in the southern Peninsula. Among these states were: the state of Sevilla ruled by Banū ‘Abbād, the state of Cordoba ruled by Banū Jahwar, the state of Granada ruled by Banū Zīrī, the state of Badajoz ruled by Banū al-Afṭas, the state of Toledo ruled by Banū Thī Anūn, the state of Zaragoza ruled by Banū Hūd and the state of Valencia ruled by Banū ‘Amir. This stage was called *al-Ṭawāif*. The rulers of these states had reached a stage of weakness in which they paid tribute to Alfonso VI (1072-1109), King of Castile, and his predecessors in the





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northern Iberian Peninsula.<sup>2</sup> At that time, the Iberian Peninsula was divided into two halves. The Christian states controlled the northern part, whereas the southern part was under the rule of Muslims, and it was still called al-Andalus.

Additionally, the rulers of these states requested help from Alfonso VI during their quarrel with each other in exchange for providing him with money or conceding castles, fortresses, or lands to him. However, during this era, there was prosperity in various fields in al-Andalus, in which many scientists, particularly ‘Abbās b. Firnās (d. 887), developed new inventions.<sup>3</sup> In addition, poetry and jurisprudence were linked to each other in eleventh-century al-Andalus. Many jurists had been poets, such as Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī (d. 1084) and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī (d. 1068). There were also many famous poets in al-Andalus.<sup>4</sup>

Jurists and poets emerged across the Iberian Peninsula and had many cultural activities in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, many historians and scholars have paid attention to the narration of the endeavours of these jurists and poets to spread their intellectual contributions in the Iberian Peninsula. In additions, they have described the impact of the Andalusian jurists and poets’ cultural contributions on their status in the Andalusian society. However, they have not examined the impact of the prestige of the Iberian Islamic states on the Andalusian poets and poetry from 1031 to 1091.

In addition, they have not analysed the efforts of these jurists and poets to keep the political prestige of al-Andalus , and they have not illustrated the potential impact of the jurists’

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<sup>2</sup> AL-KAHLŪT, Yūsif. *Al-Akblāq al-Islāmiyah fī al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr Mulūk Al-Ṭawa’if*. Ghazah: al-Jāmi‘ah al-Islāmiyah, 2010, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> PALENCIA, Angel. *Tārikh al-Fikr al-Andalusī*. Ed. Ḥusain Mu’nis. Al-Qāhirah: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyah, 1955, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> JARRAR, Ṣalāḥ. “Shi‘r ‘Abbās b. Firnās.” *In Majalat Majma‘ al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyah al-Arduniyah* 14, n. 39 (1990), p. 155-178.

<sup>5</sup> AL-ḤATAMLAH, Muḥammad. *Al-Andalus: Tārikh wa Ḥadārah wa Miḥnab*. ‘Ammān: Maṭābi‘ al-Dustūr al-Tijāriyah, 2000, p. 98.



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efforts after their deaths, which occurred after the fall of Toledo in 1085.<sup>6</sup> They also have not explained whether the efforts of these jurists and poets were to protect the Islamic rule in the Peninsula or to keep their personal interests. Furthermore, they have not examined the purpose behind the jurists using or not using poetry in their efforts.

## II. A Brief Overview of Christian Rule in the Iberian Peninsula

In the tenth century, there were three Christian kingdoms in the northern Iberian Peninsula: The Crown of Leon, the Crown of Navara and the Crown of Castile. The Crown of Leon was the biggest and strongest kingdom.<sup>7</sup> However, this would change at the end of the tenth and at the beginning of the eleventh century when the Crown of Navara would become the biggest and strongest kingdom due to internal crisis in Leon, Castile and Navara.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, Navara witnessed the death of its king Garcia Sanchez II (994-1000), and his son Sanchez III (1000-1035) ascended the rule of Navara.<sup>8</sup> Sanchez III was married to Elvira (d. 1066), the sister of Garcia Sanchez (1017-1029) the monarch of Castile. Garcia Sanchez was killed in 1029 in the Crown of Leon during his marriage ceremony to Dona Sancha.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, Sanchez III became the King of two Christian Kingdoms, Navara and Castile in the north of the Iberian Peninsula.

Sanchez III appointed his elder son Fernando I (1029-1056) as the ruler of Castile. In addition, Sanchez III captured Leon and annexed it to his crown as the third kingdom. After the death of Sanchez III in 1035, his son Fernando I became the ruler of Castile,

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<sup>6</sup> JUGHAM, Laylá. “Rithā’ al-Mudun bayn Şuqūṭ al-Andalus wa Aḥdāth al-Thuluthā’ al-Aswad.” *In Majalat Kulliyat al-Ādāb in Jām‘at Muḥammad Khīḍr*, n. 4 (2009), p. 1-28.

<sup>7</sup> AL-MAGHRIBĪ, Ibn Sa‘īd. *al-Maghrib fī ḥlī al-Maghrib*. Ed. Shawqī Dayf. Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1955, 2, p. 288-291.

<sup>8</sup> IBB KARDABŪS, Abū Marwān. *Tārikh al-Andalus wa wasfihī li Ibn Shabāṭ*. Ed. Aḥmad ‘Abādī. Madrid: Ma‘had al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyah, 1971, p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> ‘ANAN, Muḥammad ‘Abdallah. *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*. Al-Qāhirah: al-Khanjī, 1997, p. 337.



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Navara, and Leon. It appears that the Christian kingdoms united under the rule of one king, Fernando I, whereas, at that time, several Islamic states of the southern Iberian Peninsula were fighting with each other. They appeared to the Christian kingdom in the north that they were so weak.

Consequently, Fernando I took advantage of the political circumstances in al-Andalus, and he conquered the Andalusian states. In 1057, he captured the city of Vizeu from Banū al-Aftas, and he killed thousands of Muslims.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, from 1062 to 1064, Fernando I led many campaigns to attack Toledo and Sevilla. He did not capture any land from these two states. However, in 1064, he seized the city of Coimbra in the north-west of al-Andalus.

In 1065, Fernando I, the King of Castile, Navara and Leon died, and these kingdoms entered a seven-year internal conflict due to his decision before his death to divide these kingdoms among his three sons and one daughter.<sup>11</sup> He appointed his oldest son, Sancho II (1065-1072), the King of Castile, his second son, Alfonso VI, the King of Leon and the third son, Garcia II (d. 1090), the King of Galicia. Regarding his only daughter, Urraca (d. 1101), he put the city of Zamora under her authority. Sancho II defeated his brothers Alfonso VI and Garcia II, and he seized their kingdoms, Leon, and Galicia. Garcia II escaped to Banū ‘Abbād in Sevilla. Regarding Alfonso VI, he was jailed in Sahagun in Leon for six years, but he fled to Banū Thī Anūn in Toledo. He remained a refugee there for nine months.

This situation temporarily relieved the Islamic states in the south of the Iberian Peninsula from Christian attacks. However, this changed when Urraca made a plot to assassinate her older brother Sancho and she succeeded in this matter. Consequently, she summoned Alfonso VI, who became the King of Castile, Navara, Leon and Galicia.<sup>12</sup> It appears that

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p. 383.

<sup>11</sup> AGUADO BLEYE, Pedro. *Manual de Historia de España*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1963, p. 489.

<sup>12</sup> Al-MARAQSHI, Ibn ‘Athārī. *Al-Bayān al-Maghrib fī Akbbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*. Ed. J.S. Kūlān. Bayrūt: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1983, 3, p. 232.



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Jun-Dic 2022

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the Christian kingdoms united again under the rule of Alfonso VI, who captured Toledo in 1085. He also forced the rulers of the Andalusian states to pay tribute to him, which resulted in Yūsif b. Tāshfīn (1065-1106), the emir of al-Murābiṭūn in al-Maghrib, deposing them in the last decade of the eleventh century. He also made al-Andalus part of al-Maghrib. Al-Andalus had been part of al-Andalus until the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

### III. The Poetry of the Andalusian Jurists from 1031 to 1091

The Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula was united and cohesive under the Umayyads from the beginning of the eighth century until the end of the tenth century. However, at the beginning of the eleventh century, there were several Muslim rulers in the Peninsula. They were wrestling with each other. This position drove some jurists in al-Andalus to react, such as Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī, and Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bir (d. 1071). These jurists visited some Muslim rulers who established states in the Iberian Peninsula’s cities. These jurists asked these rulers to stop fighting against each other.<sup>13</sup> This status would result in the fall of the Andalusian cities to Fernando I then his successors.

Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī and other jurists realised that the transformation of Islamic rule in al-Andalus into many states and rulers would make them irresponsible about the fate of their states and other Andalusian states that were not under their rule.<sup>14</sup> It can be concluded that these jurists wanted their states, and other Andalusian states, to be ruled under one strong Muslim ruler similar to the period of the Umayyad Caliphate.

Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī was from the west of al-Andalus, and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī was from the south of the Peninsula. furthermore, Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bir was from the south of the Iberian Peninsula. In the 1040s, Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bir began to move between the Andalusian territories to ask the Muslim rulers to unite one strong ruler. He stayed in Badajoz and took over the judiciary.<sup>15</sup> In 1071, he visited Xativa, in the east of al-Andalus which had been under the

<sup>13</sup> Al-SHANTARINI, Ibn Basām. *Al-Thakbīrah fī Maḥāsīn abl al-Jazīrah*. Tūnis: Dar al-‘Arabiyyah II-Kitāb, 1979, 2, p. 63.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, 2, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> IBN KHALKAN, Abū ‘Abbās. *Wafiyāt al-A‘yān*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1972, 7, p. 67.





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rule of Banū ‘Aāmir, to ask them to unite with the ruler of Badajoz. However, Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bīr failed in this task. He remained in Xativa until his death, and he was buried there.<sup>16</sup> He died before he witnessed the fall of the vital Andalusian cities, such as Toledo in the middle of al-Andalus in 1085.

Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī and other jurists also considered that the division of al-Andalus into more than twenty states created the conflict and several cults between the Muslims in the Peninsula. Consequently, during al-Bājī’s movements between the Andalusian states, he advised his students who studied under him, to unite.<sup>17</sup> Abū al-Walīd was one of the famous poets in al-Andalus. He wrote poems to thank the jurists whom he met in Baghdad and Damascus, to lament his sons, and to invite Muslim rulers and inhabitants to asceticism in the Islamic states. However, he did not write the poetries to invite the Iberian Muslim rulers to unite. He advised them by al-*Qur’ān*. Consequently, most Iberian Muslim rulers hated him, and they believed that he would incite their inhabitants against them, and he would reduce their prestige in the eyes of the Muslim, Jew, Christian inhabitants who lived under their rule.<sup>18</sup>

Following the Viking conquest of Barbastro in 1064, these jurists intensified their claims to the Iberian Muslim rulers to unite. The Vikings killed forty thousand Muslims in the city of Barbastro which had been part of the state of Zaragoza. The Viking attack of Barbastro had been considered an external attack.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, it can be argued that the fall of Barbastro led these jurists to critique the Iberian Muslim rulers after they realised that their claims for unity did not achieve any result.

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<sup>16</sup> AL-MAQQARI, Aḥmad. *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, Extracted from the Naḥḥu al-ṭīb min al-Ghuṣṣn-al-Andalusī-al-Raṭīb wa Tārīkh Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (ed. and transl.: Pascual de Gayangos). London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1843, 2, p. 67, 77.

<sup>17</sup> AL-SHANTARINI, Ibn Basām. *Al-Thakbīrah fī Maḥāsīn abl al-Jazīrah*, 2, p. 64.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 2, p. 67.

<sup>19</sup> MISIS, Khawlah. “Adab al-Istiṣrākḥ wa al-Istinjād fī al-Andalus.” *In Majalat Jil al-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyah wa al-Fikriyah*, n. 9 (2015), p. 95.



Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

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Consequently, this criticism caused the anger of Abū ‘Amr ‘Abbād al-Mu‘tadid, the ruler of Sevilla (1042-1069), who killed Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī in 1068 due to the latter’s poems against him after the Viking conquest of Barbastro.<sup>20</sup> Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī wrote poems which indicated the weakness of al-Mu‘tadid in recapturing Barbastro after its fall. The poems of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī to the ruler of Sevilla, also included critical statements about the great events against the Andalusians, did not provoke the jealousy of al-Mu‘tadid.<sup>21</sup>

During his stay in Xativa, Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir did not write the poems to attract the Andalusian rulers, including al-Mu‘tadid to recapture Barbastro from the Vikings. His policy was to use the poetry to warn these rulers from the plots between each other and their dangerous consequences.<sup>22</sup> It can be concluded that the policy of Ibn ‘Abd al-Bir was to warn of danger and to have no remorse after the danger occurred. He, therefore, did not regret after the Viking conquest of Barbastro. It is also probable that he realised that al-Mu‘tadid was so weak to recapture Barbastro from the Vikings, and he did not care about the fate of other Andalusian states which had faced other dangers represented in the attack of Christians.

Additionally, during this period, Ibn Ḥazm also wrote some poems to critique the political authorities in Sevilla after the latter burned his books.<sup>23</sup> In his poetry, he expressed that the burning of his volumes would not hinder him from claiming the truth. He also indicated that his volumes were preserved in his mind and in the chest of his students.<sup>24</sup>

One of the possible reasons which led the ruler of Sevilla to burn the library of Ibn Ḥazm was that Ibn Ḥazm was a scholar of al-Dāhirī doctrine, which was at disagreements with

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<sup>20</sup> AL-QUDA‘ I, Ibn al-Abār. *Ḥulat al-Sīyarā*. Ed. Ḥusayn Mu’nis. Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1985, 2, p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 2, p. 41.

<sup>22</sup> ‘ABBAS, Iḥsān. *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Andalusī*. ‘Amān: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1971, p. 177-180.

<sup>23</sup> CHEJNE, Anwar. *Ibn Ḥazm*. Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1982, p. 97.

<sup>24</sup> AL-ḤAMADAH, Ḥumṣī Farḥān. *Al-Imām Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*. Al-Riqqah: Itihād al-Kitāb al-‘Arab, 2011, p. 77.



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Andalusian Mālikī jurists. The latter probably incited al-Mu‘tadid against Ibn Ḥazm.<sup>25</sup> It can be argued that Ibn Ḥazm had been cultured person. He respected other categories and doctrines.<sup>26</sup> He also worked to attract the Iberian inhabitants to his intellectual projects. Consequently, he had been respected by the scholars of the Mālikī doctrine in al-Andalus, particularly Abū al-walīd al-Bājī.

Additionally, the native country of Ibn Ḥazm was Cordoba. Hence, he intensified his efforts to hinder the several attempts of the rulers of Sevilla to annex Cordoba to their kingdom. In 1033, the political authorities of Sevilla alleged that they had found a disappeared Umayyad Caliph, Hishām al-Mu‘īd. They aimed to appoint him as a fictitious caliph of the southern territories of al-Andalus, particularly Sevilla and Cordoba.<sup>27</sup>

It appears that Ibn Ḥazm had not been convinced of the efficiency of the rulers of Sevilla to rule al-Andalus. This is because that al-Mu‘tadid made many plots against the Andalusian rulers. Moreover, he was so weak against the Christian kings.<sup>28</sup> One example could be mentioned to support this view is that al-Mu‘tadid mobilised the armies and sent many campaigns to capture several Andalusian states. At the same time, he did not support the Andalusian states which had suffered from the internal Christian and external danger. In addition, he was so weak against Fernando I, that al-Mu‘tadid was subject to him.<sup>29</sup>

It appears that the actions the rulers of Sevilla, particularly al-Mu‘tadid were one of the obstacles, which hindered the endeavours of Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bir, and Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī from uniting al-Andalus under one strong ruler.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, many eleventh century Andalusian sources criticised al-Mu‘tadid. Some of them believed that he was a

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77.

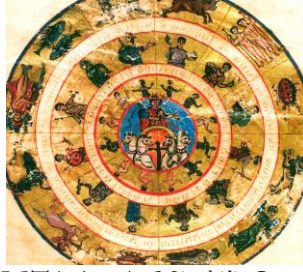
<sup>26</sup> AL-THAHABI, Shams al-Dīn. *Tatbīkīrat al-Ḥufād*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1998, 1, p. 56.

<sup>27</sup> AL-ANDALUSI, Ibn Ḥazm. *Nuqaṭ al-‘Arūs*. Ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās. Bayrūt: Mu‘assasah al-‘Arabiyyah, 1987, 2, p. 97.

<sup>28</sup> ‘ANAN, Muhammad. *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*, p. 48.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p. 48.

<sup>30</sup> AL-SHANTARINI, Ibn Basām. *Al-Thakbīrah fī Maḥāsīn abl al-Jazīrah*, 2, p. 11-12.



Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

prime reason which led to the weakness of the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula. His plots also kept the division of al-Andalus until the last decade of the eleventh century.

Andalusian jurists were convinced of the leadership of Ibn Abd al-Barr to improve the situation of Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula because they considered him the most learned jurist in al-Andalus.<sup>31</sup> So, it can be argued that there were no odds between Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bir and Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī.<sup>32</sup> Some scholars have referred to odds between Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī and Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bir due to the latter had been the jurist of al-Dāhirī doctrine. These scholars have depended on this claim based on one thirteenth century source, represented in the historian Ibn ‘ Umayrah al-Makhzūmī, who died in 1260.<sup>33</sup>

Regarding Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, he began his endeavours in al-Andalus from collapse after he had returned from his scientific journey from al-Mashriq which lasted from 1034 to 1048.<sup>34</sup> In 1084, Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī intensified his efforts in inviting the Iberian Muslim ruler to unify because the King of Castile, Alfonso VI had conquered many Andalusian states, beginning with the state of Badajoz; he had obligated its ruler to pay a huge tribute.<sup>35</sup> In addition, in 1084, Alfonso VI mobilised his army to capture Toledo, which was his primary aim.<sup>36</sup>

In 1064, Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī met Ibn Ḥazm in the island of Mallorca, on the eastern coast of the Peninsula.<sup>37</sup> It can be assumed that Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī visited Mallorca and met Ibn Ḥazm there to support the efforts of the rulers of Zaragoza to unify al-Andalus after

<sup>31</sup> IBN KHALKAN, Abū ‘ Abbās. *Wafiyāt al-A‘yān*, 7, p. 66.

<sup>32</sup> AL-HAJI, ‘ Abd al-Raḥmān. *Al-Tārikh al-Andalusī min al-Fath ḥtā Ṣuqūṭ Girmāṭab*. Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 2014, p. 375.

<sup>33</sup> AL-MAKHZUMI, Ibn ‘ Umayrah. *Baghyat al-Multamis fī Tārikh Rijal Abl al-Andalus*. al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘ Arabī, 1967, p. 71.

<sup>34</sup> AL-SHANTARINI, Ibn Basām. *Al-Thakbīrah fī Maḥāsīn abl al-Jazīrah*, 2, p. 63.

<sup>35</sup> AL-HAJI, ‘ Abd al-Raḥmān. *Al-Tārikh al-Andalusī min al-Fath ḥtā Ṣuqūṭ Girmāṭab*, p. 364.

<sup>36</sup> IBN KARDABUS, Abū Marwān. *Tārikh al-Andalus wa wasfihī li Ibn Shabāt*, p. 78-80.

<sup>37</sup> AL-MAQQARI, Aḥmad. *Nafḥu al-ṭīb min al-Ghuṣn-al-Andalusī- al-Raṭīb*. Ed. Iḥsān ‘ Abbās. Bayrūt: Dār Ṣādir, 1968, 2, p. 67.





Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

they had captured Mallorca Island. The island had been ruled by ‘Alī Iqbāl al-Dūlah (1044-1071), the Andalusian ruler of Dānyah state, who spent the last six years of his life in captivity in Zaragoza.<sup>38</sup> Dānyah state had been established by ‘Alī Iqbāl al-Dūlah’s father, al-Mujāhid al-‘Aāmīrī (1014-1044), in the east of al-Andalus, which included Mallorca.

After the fall of Barbastro, Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī enthused the Iberian Muslims to fight to recapture Barbastro.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, he succeeded in mobilising approximately six thousand fighters under the leadership of the ruler of Zaragoza, Muḡtadir Aḡmad b. Hūd (1049-1082), who succeeded in recapturing Barbastro in 1065.<sup>40</sup>

After the Andalusian recovery of Barbastro, Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī remained in Zaragoza because he probably sought to appoint the ruler of Zaragoza, al-Muḡtadir Aḡmad b. Hūd as a ruler of al-Andalus.<sup>41</sup> Another possible reason which led al-Bājī to convince about the abilities of Banū Hūd to rule the Islamic states in the Iberian Peninsula is the following: in the 1060s, Fernando I attacked the territories of the state of Toledo and other lands of the Andalusian states.<sup>42</sup> However, the latter did not dare to conquer the territories of Zaragoza.<sup>43</sup>

All the above-mentioned jurists, except Abū al-Walīd al-Waqshī, died before the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085. Consequently, after the fall of Toledo, the Muslim rulers in al-Andalus regretted not responding the jurists’ callings to unite and not conspire against each other. Hence, some of them, particularly the ruler of Sevilla, al-Mu‘tamīd b. ‘Abbād (1069-1091), the rulers of Granada, ‘Abd allah b. Balqīn (1073-1090) and al-Mutawakīl b.

<sup>38</sup> AL-QUDA‘I, Ibn al-Abār. *Ḥulat al-Sīyarā*, 1, p. 391.

<sup>39</sup> ‘AAYAD, Al-Qāḡī. *Tartīb al-Madārik*. Eds. Ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī and others. Al-Muḡammadiyah: al-Fudhālah, 1983, 3, p. 825.

<sup>40</sup> LAPENA PAUL, Ana Isabel. *Sancho Ramírez, rey de Aragón (¿1064?-1094) y rey de Navarra (1076-1094)*. Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2004, p. 160.

<sup>41</sup> IBN KHALDUN, ‘Abd al-Raḡmān. *Kitāb al-‘ibar*. al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kitāb al-Maṣrī, 1999, 4, p. 354.

<sup>42</sup> AL-QUDA‘I, Ibn al-Abār. *Al-Takmilah fī Kitāb al-Ṣilah*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām al-Harāsh. Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1994, 1, p. 136.

<sup>43</sup> AGUADO BLEYE, Pedro. *Manual de Historia de España*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1963, p. 489.





Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

al-Afṭas, decided to unite and request a military intervention from Yūsif b. Tāshfīn, the emir of al-Murābiṭūn in al-Maghrib, to stop the expansion of Alfonso in the Andalusian territories.<sup>44</sup>

Consequently, Yūsif b. Tāshfīn, al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād, ‘Abd allah b. Balqīn and al-Mutawakil b. al-Afṭas defeated Alfonso VI in the Battle of Sagrajas in 1086. This battle witnessed the participation of the jurist of Cordoba, Ibn Rumaylah (d. 1086), who was killed in this battle. This jurist did not invite the Muslim rulers in the Iberian Peninsula to unite because he probably believed that they would not respond to the invitation. In addition, it is possible that he feared the anger of the ruler of Sevilla, al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād after his father, Abū ‘Amr ‘Abbād al-Mu‘tadid, killed Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī in 1068.<sup>45</sup>

Cordoba came under the rule of Banū ‘Abbād during the reign of al-Mu‘tamid. However, this jurist invited the Muslims of Cordoba to fight in the Battle of Sagrajas. Before the day of this battle, he dreamed that the Prophet Muḥammad heralded their victory.<sup>46</sup>

#### IV. The Poems of the Andalusian Poets from 1031 to 1091

Throughout all eras and societies, poetry has been considered a cultural, intellectual, and emotional carrier, and it has described aspects of life. The Andalusian poetry and poets reached their peak in the eleventh century where the Andalusian society preferred them. Consequently, many Andalusian rulers were poets, such as the rulers of Sevilla al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād and his father. Many scholars have focused on the contents of the poems of the

<sup>44</sup> AL-MARAQSHI, Ibn ‘Athārī. *Al-Bayān al-Maghrib fī Akhbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib*, 4, p. 114.

<sup>45</sup> ḤADDAD, Imīl Badī‘. *Mawsū‘at ‘ulūm al-Lughab al-‘Arabiyah*. Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyah, 2006, p. 370.

<sup>45</sup> ‘ABBAS, Iḥsān, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Andalusī*, p. 49.

<sup>46</sup> AL-HUMAYRI, Muhammad. *Al-Rūd al-Mi‘ṭār*. Ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās. Bayrūt: Dār al-sirāj, 1980, p. 67.



Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

latter. In addition, they have examined the poems of I‘timād al-Ramīkiyah (d. 1095), a wife of al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād.<sup>47</sup>

Some poets became ministers in Andalusian states, such as Ibn Zaydūn (d. 1071), who had been a minister in Cordoba under the rule of Banū Jahwar and was later a minister in Sevilla under the rule of Banū ‘Abbād.<sup>48</sup> The poet, Abū Bakir b. ‘Amār (d. 1086) was a minister in Sevilla during the reign of al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād. Consequently, some scholars and historians examine the role of these poets in the political affairs of these states. Other scholars focus on the romantic relationship between Ibn Zaydūn and Walādah b. al-Mustakfī (d. 1091), particularly after Ibn Zaydūn fled from Cordoba to Sevilla.

The scholars have examined various aspects of eleventh century Andalusian poetry. For example, in her thesis, Rasmā‘ Abd al-Raḥmān has discussed the spinning in the poems of the Andalusian poets in the eleventh century.<sup>49</sup> Karīmah Naqāz and al-Shaykh bū qarbah have analysed many poems which described the architecture in the Andalusian states from the third decade to the eighth decade of the eleventh century.<sup>50</sup>

In his book, Muḥammad Sa‘īd has wrote the biography of many Andalusian poets, including Ibn Zaydūn and Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 1035), who had been appointed as the ministers in the eleventh century. He has also included the biography and poems of al-Mu‘tamid b. ‘Abbād to his wife and father.<sup>51</sup> Henry Peres has studied various topics of

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<sup>47</sup> CORTÉS GARCIA, Manuela. *La música en la Zaragoza islámica*. Zaragoza: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 2009, p. 46-48.

<sup>48</sup> AL-ZARKALI, Khayr al-Dīn. *A-A ‘lām*. Bayrūt: Dār al-‘Alam, 2002, p. 158.

<sup>49</sup> ‘ABD AL-RAHMAN, Rasmā‘. *Al-Zaman fī al-Shi‘r al-Andalusī fī ‘Aṣr al-Ṭawāif*. Riyadh: Jam‘at al-Imām Muḥammad b. Sa‘ūd, 2011.

<sup>50</sup> NAQAZ, Karīmah and al-Shaykh bū qarbah. “Binā‘ al-Qaṣīdah al-Shi‘riyah fī ‘Aṣr al-Ṭawāif.” *Majalat Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*, 6, n. 4 (2017), p. 201-212.

<sup>51</sup> SAID, Muḥammad. *Sirāj al-Andalus*. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Aqlām al-‘Arabiyah, 2020.



Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

eleventh century Andalusian poetry, which have not been examined by the above-mentioned scholars.<sup>52</sup>

Scholars and historians have not paid attention to the role of the Andalusian poets in improving the political situation of the Iberian Islamic states in the eleventh century. The examination of their efforts including their poetries clarifies their identities, whether for all of al-Andalus, or just for a particular city.

In the eleventh century, the Andalusian poets divided into five parties based on their efforts regarding the internal and external political situation of the Andalusian states. The first party paid attention to the political status of their states more than other Iberian Islamic states' political situation. An example, Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī (d. 1067), who criticized the internal circumstances of his native state, Granada. He wrote poems that criticized his ruler Bādīs b. Ḥabūs (1038-1073). The latter appointed a Jewish, Ismā'īl b. Nigrālah (d. 1066) as a minister in his court. In his poems, Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī stated that the Berber ruler of Granada Bādīs b. Ḥabūs, committed a sin when he appointed an infidel as a minister in Granada. This appointment caused the anger of the Muslims of Granada.<sup>53</sup>

These words resulted in the revolution in Granada which led the inhabitants of Granada to kill Yūsif b. Nigrālah, and they killed many Jewish inhabitants of Granada. After the suppression of this revolution, the ruler of Granada jailed Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī.<sup>54</sup> The latter stayed in the prison until his death.

Bādīs b. Ḥabūs then decided to appoint the son of Ismā'īl, Yūsif b. Nigrālah a minister in Granada.<sup>55</sup> Before that Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī interacted with the fall of Barbastro.

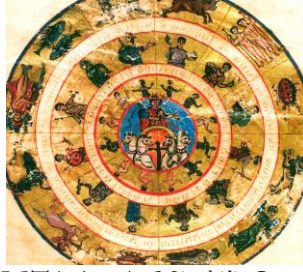
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<sup>52</sup> PERES, Henry. *Esplendor de Al-Andalus: la Poesia andaluza en Arabe clasico en el siglo XI*. Madrid: Hiperion, 1983.

<sup>53</sup> BALQIN, 'Abd allah b. *Muthakarāt 'Abd allah Akbir Mulūk Banī Zīrī in Gīrnāṭah*, ed. Levi Provencal. Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1955, p. 54.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, p. 54.

<sup>55</sup> STILLMAN, Norman. *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1979, p. 56.



Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

Consequently, it cannot be considered that he was a nationalist due to his concentration on the affairs of Granada.

The second party was Ibn al-Bunī (d. 1097), who did not care about the political situation of al-Andalus, represented by the split al-Andalus under many states and rulers, because these rulers favoured and gifted the spinning poets. Consequently, he satirised al-Murābiṭūn after they had deposed the Andalusian rulers in the 1090s.<sup>56</sup> It can be, therefore, concluded that he was a stakeholder due to his desire to keep his prestigious social status under these Andalusian rulers rather than unify Islamic rule in al-Andalus.

Regarding the third party, the members sought to unite al-Andalus under one ruler. They also critiqued dispersal, fighting and conspiracies between the Andalusian states. The members of this party included Mālikī and al-Dāhirī jurists, such as Abū al-Walīd al-Bājī, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Hūzanī and Ibn ‘ Abd al-Bir. We can consider them Islamicists who wanted to protect Islamic rule and identity in al-Andalus. The members of this party did not care about their personal interests, even if some of them had personal interests in the current political situation.

The members of the fourth party reacted when the Andalusian states suffered from external dangers. For example, after the fall of Barbastro, the poets Abū ‘ Abd allah al-‘Asāl from Toledo (d. 1094) and Abū Ishāq al-Albīrī wrote poems to invite the Andalusians and their rulers to mobilise their forces to recapture Barbastro.<sup>57</sup>

These members did not join with the members of the third party when the latter concentrated their efforts on unification of Islamic rule in al-Andalus. However, it can also be considered that the members of the fourth party had been also Islamicists because they interacted with the fall of an Andalusian city. It can also be assumed that, more than improving the political status of the Andalusian states, their aim was to help and to protect

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<sup>56</sup> MAHMUD, Muḥammad Shākir. “I’m Spinning in poetry of ibn al-Buny al-Andalusian Died in the Fifth Century of migration.” *Mustanṣiriyah Journal of Arts* 35, n. 55 (2011), p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> AL-GHIRNATI, Ibn al-Khaṭīb. *A‘māl al-A‘lām*. Ed. Levi Provencal. Bayrūt: Dār al-Makshūf, 1956, 2, p. 231.



Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

the Andalusian cities from both external danger and the internal danger represented by the Christian kings in the north of the Peninsula.

The fifth party was the poets of the Andalusian rulers' courts. The Iberian Muslim rulers probably chose some poets to depend on them to hide the flaws of these rulers in the eyes of their inhabitants. These poets praised the Andalusian rulers whether they were right or wrong. For example, Ibn Ḥamīdis (d. 1133), was the poet of al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād's court. Ibn Ḥamīdis praised -Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād very much.

After the Andalusian victory in the Battle of Sagrajas against Alfonso VI in 1086, Ibn Ḥamīdis indicated that Mu'tamid b. 'Abbād had been a protector of al-Andalus.<sup>58</sup> He probably wanted to rise the popularity of al-Mu'tamid in the eyes of the Andalusian inhabitants after the rise in popularity of al-Murābiṭūn among the Muslims of al-Andalus. It is possible that Ibn Ḥamīdis accepted this role to benefit from al-Mu'tamid financially. After al-Murābiṭūn deposing of al-Mu'tamid in 1091, he left al-Andalus for North Africa.

In addition, other poets praised the Andalusian rulers. They earned from them money. For example, Abū 'Alī Idrīs b. al-Yamān (d. 1077), praised the ruler of Toledo, al-Ma'mūn (d. 1077), although the latter was weak.<sup>59</sup> Al-Ma'mūn was a subject to Fernando I.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, Abū 'Alī Idrīs b. al-Yamān praised the ruler of Sevilla, al-Mu'tadid. The latter did not achieve any contributions for the sake of the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula.

Another Andalusian poet was Ibn al-Ḥadād al-Andalusī (d. 1087) who praised the ruler of Almeria, al-Mu'taṣim b. Ṣumādih, and the rulers of Toledo. Additionally, there was Ibn Abār al-Khulānī (d. 1042). He praised the rulers of Sevilla. He justified the plots of the first ruler of Sevilla, Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Abbād against the rulers of al-Andalus for the purpose

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<sup>58</sup> IBN KHALKAN, Abū 'Abbās. *Wafiyāt al-A'yān*, 3, p. 214-215.

<sup>59</sup> FARUKH, 'Umar. *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī: al-Adab fī al-Maghrib wa al-Andalus*. Baurūt: Dār al-'Alam, 1985, p. 623.

<sup>60</sup> 'Anān, Muhammad. *Dawlat al-Islām fī al-Andalus, Duwal al-Ṭawāif*, p. 383-384.





Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

of unifying Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>61</sup> It can be, therefore, concluded that many of these poets preferred their financial interests more than improving the status of Islamic rule in al-Andalus. Hence, they contributed to the continuation of this political situation in al-Andalus.

## Conclusion

In the whole of the eleventh century, al-Andalus witnessed prosperity in all fields. However, the Andalusians suffered from the political situation which affected the economy of al-Andalus. The southern part of the Iberian Peninsula (al-Andalus) was ruled by twenty-two Muslim rulers. All of them were weak and subject to Catholic rule in the north of the Iberian Peninsula. In addition, they paid annual tributes to the Iberian Christian rulers.

Consequently, some Andalusian poets, who had religious awareness, made great attempts to improve this situation, as they were concerned with the fate of Islamic rule. They utilised their cultural activities to protect the Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula from the collapse. This class had been hated by the Andalusian rulers.

Consequently, they put their lives at risk, left scientific interests, and exploited their cultural capabilities during their attempts to improve the political situation of the Islamic rule. There were respectful relations between each other. In addition, many Muslim inhabitants in al-Andalus respected this class.

However, other Andalusian poets made the political situation in al-Andalus worse due to their personal interests. Consequently, this class had been gifted by the Muslim rulers in al-Andalus. In addition, some of them had been appointed as ministers, such as Ibn Zaydūn and Abū Bakir b. ‘Amār.

Consequently, in 1086, the inhabitants of al-Andalus invited al-Mūrābitūn in the North Africa to protect them from the conquests of the Iberian Christian Kings. Then, in 1090,

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<sup>61</sup> IBN KHALKAN, Abū ‘Abbās. *Wafiyāt al-A’yān*, 1, p. 142.



Ricardo da COSTA (org.). *Mirabilia Journal* 35 (2022/2)

*The World of Tradition. Life and Death, Thought and Culture in Ancient, Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*

Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

these inhabitants begged al-Mūrābitūn to depose all Muslim rulers in the Peninsula and to rule al-Andalus. Hence, al-Mūrābitūn deposed all Iberian Muslim rulers except the state of Zaragoza. It remained independent until the forces of al-Mūrābitūn could have depose their rulers in 1110.

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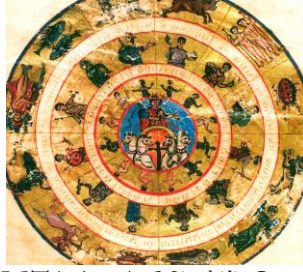
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Jun-Dic 2022

ISSN 1676-5818

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